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upon his parents cohabiting; and they immediately told everyone in the village.

Puberty Rites

Male puberty rites were divided into two periods. The first, which was preparatory, covered about three or four years and consisted of the administration of certain medicines (*okeis*) and body-scraping. The second covered a much shorter period and constituted the actual initiation of the boy into the men's group. The observances, starting when a boy was between ten and twelve years of age, increased in frequency and intensity until his final initiation. The purposes, as expressed by the Trumaí, were to make him grow big and strong, give him courage and fortitude, and mark certain achievements on the road to manhood.

Body-scraping was one of the most important means used to accomplish these ends. Two different types of scarification instruments were in use. One was a sort of comb made of fish teeth imbedded in wood; the other was a polished armadillo claw. The former was used during the early phases of scarification, the latter, during the late phases when the whole body was scraped.

The first scraping was limited to the arms or legs. Kamkuti received his initial scarification on the biceps as an aftermath of shooting his first fish. The scraping, painful though it was, was a reward and a recognition of manly achievement. It was also a test of endurance and resistance to pain, and the boy was admonished against flinching or weeping. Such occasions were the first on which the child was exhorted to be manly and courageous.

When the boy reached biological puberty, the scraping became more severe. Arms, legs, flanks, chest, back, and stomach were all scraped, and the operation must have been most painful. Each boy could expect to have this happen to him a few times during the course of his initiation. Jawaku, Maibu's foster-son, had his first overall scarification while Quain was in residence. This was a prelude to the full initiation rites, through which he was soon to pass. Jawaku was a very timid boy, and significantly lacked the assertiveness that was so much a part of Trumaí personality. Katauka, who was officiating, scraped his legs first, then his back, flanks and arms, ending with a light treatment on his chest and stomach. Jawaku looked extremely unhappy, but he did not cry until Katauka began scraping his back. Maibu held him firmly and told him not to cry, while others scolded him for being a baby.

Before the scarification started Jawaku's body was moistened with water from a nearby pot. After it was finished, Katauka rubbed him completely with the bark of the *aruparukatem* tree. This or the bark of the *ñi'i* tree (the source of the fish poison previously referred to) were always used to treat the wounds made by scraping.

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always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood.

A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *piquí* fruit. Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *piquí* without first taking the medicine.

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumaí thought, was to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumaí believed to be the result of the scraping.

Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites.

The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however, had been pierced before, whereas Autsuki, who was older and had entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated. Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied.

At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms.

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gê-speaking peoples, made very large, and to the Trumaí, very unsightly, perforations in the lobes. Two Trumaí men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satisfactorily to the Trumaí why the Suyá "cannot speak properly."

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent intensive drinking of *okeis*, and further body-scraping. After this the boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced.

Both Jawaku and Autsuki were at this stage. One day a snake was located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along

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the banks, while men crowded into a canoe. The reptile was located, but instead of the one-foot diameter that it was at first said to have, it turned out to be only three inches thick. But, as Quain laconically observed, it was hungry. The men shouted at Jawaku to jump in the water and grab it.

The boy approached the reptile cautiously and with obvious fear. The anaconda, aroused, slithered through the water to the other side of the lagoon. Jawaku's unwillingness to fight was now apparent. There were shouts that he was frightened. These goads temporarily overcame his reluctance, and he waded through the water and grabbed the snake around the middle, lifting it out of the water. The anaconda began throwing its coils, while striking at the boy. In a panic, Jawaku stumbled blindly for the shore, tripped over a log, and released his hold on the snake. All the men shouted, "He's afraid!" as the crestfallen boy dragged himself out of the water and silently walked home.

That night, Maibu made a lengthy speech in which he absolved himself from any responsibility for Jawaku's cowardice. The next day another reptile was sighted, but Jawaku did not even bother to look at it.

On the other hand, Autsuki measured up to what was expected of him, and thus was able to continue the ritual that marked his maturation. Immediately upon the successful outcome of his struggle with an anaconda, he went to his house. He had now entered the seclusion phase of his puberty rites. Tun, his mother's brother, who was acting as next of kin, built a partition screening him off from the rest of the house. He was allowed nothing to eat but a medicinal preparation called *wyryx*, and he could leave his confinement to defecate only when everyone was asleep.

The seclusion period was to last until the ear-piercing festival which was to be held several months later, but Autsuki was cheerful about it. In accordance with normal practice, he had his arms scraped shortly after he entered confinement, and he was also given the adult tonsure.

There remained only one more step in the cycle of initiation rites: initiation into the shamanistic art of curing. Completion of this final phase was necessary for full participation in the men's circle and for the privilege of smoking tobacco.[3] All of the uninitiated Trumaí youths knew how to smoke and occasionally did so, but the adults referred to this as "lying smoking." In order to "really" smoke it was necessary to have a ceremony performed by Matiwana. Exactly when this occurred is open to question, but ideally it was supposed to follow the final seclusion and ear-piercing. Aloari had not yet had the ceremony performed, although he was married and had a child. In his own words, he was still "too young." Aloari was evidently equating maturation with the puberty rites.

[3] Oberg (1953, p. 60) reports that uninitiated men may not smoke among the Kamayurá, either.